

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 09719

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, UR

SUBJECT: GENSCHER-ZAMYATIN DISCUSSION OF BERLIN
SITUATION

BEGIN SUMMARY. AT A HASTILY ARRANGED MEETING ON JUNE 6,
FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER TOOK VISITING TASS CHIEF
ZAMYATIN TO TASK FOR THE SOVIET WAR OF WORDS ON BERLIN
AND--IN THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO BONN--FOR
THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS (WHO HAVE BEEN
ENGAGING IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE AN ANTI-GENSCHER CAMPAIGN)
GENSCHER SAID HE WAS BEGINNING TO WONDER, IN THE LIGHT
OF RECENT SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE FRG, WHETHER THE GENERAL
CONDITIONS FOR A POLICY OF DETENTE STILL OBTAINED.
ZAMYATIN STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE
AGREEMENT TO SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE FRG AND ALSO WITH
THE THREE POWERS AND CLAIMED THAT SOVIET PROTESTS WERE
NECESSITATED BY WESTERN VIOLATIONS OF THE QA. THE PRO-
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TEST AGAINST GENSCHER'S ACCOMPANIMENT OF SECRETARY

KISSINGER TO BERLIN HAD NOT BEEN DIRECTED AT GENSCHER PERSONALLY, HE SAID, BUT ONLY AT THE "NON-RESPECT" OF THE QA. NEITHER HE NOR SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN PROVIDED A CLEAR-CUT ANSWER TO GENSCHER'S REPEATED QUESTION AS TO HOW THE LATTER'S BERLIN VISIT HAD VIOLATED THE QA. NOTING THAT SQUABBLES OVER BERLIN WERE BENEFITTING THE OPPOSITION IN THE FRG, ZAMYATIN SUGGESTED THINKING ABOUT WAYS OF REMOVING THIS WEAPON FROM THE OPPOSITION. HE ALSO REAFFIRMED THE DESIRE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. END SUMMARY.

1. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF HIS PRESENCE IN BONN UNDER AUSPICES OF THE SOVIET-FRG PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY, FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER INVITED TASS DIRECTOR GENERAL LEONID ZAMYATIN TO A LUNCHEON ON JUNE 6, AT WHICH SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN, FRG AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW SAHM, FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL, AND AN AIDE TO GENSCHER WERE ALSO PRESENT. ON JUNE 12 THE FRG BONN GROUP REP (LUECKING) BRIEFED THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BONN GROUP ON THE PORTION OF THE LUNCHEON CONVERSATION CONCERNING BERLIN.

2. GENSCHER TOLD ZAMYATIN THERE WAS GREAT CONCERN IN THE FRG OVER THE LATEST SOVIET DECLARATION CONCERNING BERLIN (COMMENT: A REFERENCE TO THE MAY 12 SOVIET NOTE IN THE UN CONCERNING THE DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK), ADDING THAT SUCH DECLARATIONS PLACE A DIFFICULT BURDEN ON SOVIET-FRG RELATIONS. THE SAME WAS TRUE, GENSCHER SAID, WITH REGARD TO THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS IN THE FRG. HE DID NOT RAISE THIS, HE CONTINUED, BECAUSE OF THE PERSONAL ATTACKS ON HIM, BUT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN SOVIET-GERMAN RELATIONS. HE WAS CONSCIOUS THAT NOT ALL PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED SIMPLY BY MAKING TREATIES.

3. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS, ZAMYATIN (WHO IS CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET-FRG SECTION OF THE USSR PARLIAMENTARY GROUP) SAID THAT HE OBSERVED WITH THE GREATEST ATTENTION THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FRG AND GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE POLITICAL LINE WITH REGARD TO THE FRG AS CONFIDENTIAL

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ELABORATED IN MOSCOW WAS AND WOULD BE THE GENERAL LINE OF SOVIET ACTION. BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS WERE A PART OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP, AND IT WAS TO THE ECONOMIC FIELD THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ATTACHED SPECIAL ATTENTION. WITH REGARD TO GENSCHER'S MENTION OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF BERLIN, ZAMYATIN SAID HE COULD ONLY SAY THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WOULD BE STRICTLY OBSERVED. THE QA WAS NOT ONLY A

TOUCHSTONE FOR SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE FRG BUT ALSO FOR RELATIONS WITH THE THREE POWERS. THE SOVIET UNION WANTED TO CONCLUDE EVEN MORE AGREEMENTS WITH THE THREE POWERS, BUT IF THE QA, WHICH CONSTITUTED THE KEY AGREEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE THREE POWERS, WERE NOT RESPECTED, THE GENERAL CREDIBILITY OF THE POLICY OF TREATIES WOULD SUFFER.

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4. THE FACT THAT GENSCHER HAD ACCOMPANIED SECRETARY KISSINGER TO BERLIN SHOWED, ZAMYATIN CONTINUED, THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTERPRETED TO ITS BENEFIT THE PARTS OF THE QA WHICH WERE FAVORABLE TO THE FRG BUT DID NOT CARE IN PRACTICE ABOUT THE UNFAVORABLE PARTS OF THE QA. THE JOURNEY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO BERLIN IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY HAD GONE BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THE QA, AND THE SOVIET UNION HAD FELT OBLIGED TO PROTEST IT.

THIS PROTEST HAD NOT BEEN DIRECTED PERSONALLY AGAINST GENSCHER BUT HAD, IN FACT, BEEN A REACTION TO THE NON-RESPECT OF THE AGREEMENT. ZAMYATIN STRESSED THAT THE GDR HAD NEVER VIOLATED THE QA SINCE IT WAS COMPLETED AND ASSERTED THAT THE FRG WOULD BE UNABLE TO SHOW THE CONTRARY.

5. ZAMYATIN THEN REFERRED TO THE STATEMENT ISSUED IN PARIS AFTER THE MAY 28 QUADRIPARTITE BREAKFAST AND
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OBSERVED THAT THERE WAS NOTHING NEW ABOUT IT. THE SAME THING HAD HAPPENED IN 1969. BUT THE FRG HAD NO RELATIONSHIP TO THE STATUS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN, AND HERE, TOO, THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN OBLIGED AS A PRACTICAL MATTER TO REACT (COMMENT: BERLIN 5787 SUMMARIZES THE TASS STATEMENT WHICH OBJECTED TO GENSCHER'S ASSOCIATION WITH THE MAY 28 DECLARATION). ZAMYATIN ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER IT WAS A GOOD THING TO PUT MUTUAL RELATIONS TO SUCH A HARD TEST AND STATED THAT HIS ANSWER WAS A CLEAR "NO".

6. NOTING THAT THERE WOULD SOON BE ELECTIONS IN THE FRG, ZAMYATIN CONTINUED THAT "ALL THESE QUARRELS" WERE USED BY THE OPPOSITION TO WEAKEN THE GOVERNING COALITION IN GERMANY. HE THOUGHT IT WAS NOT RIGHT TO STRENGTHEN THE OPPOSITION IN THIS WAY AND SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO THINK ABOUT HOW THE SOVIETS AND THE FRG MIGHT FIND A COMMON LINE. HE ALSO SAID IT WAS NOT GOOD CONSTANTLY TO TRY TO GIVE AN INTERPRETATION OF THE QA, ESPECIALLY IF THIS WERE DONE BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IN CONCLUSION, ZAMYATIN STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTED BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THAT WHAT BREZHNEV HAD TOLD SCHMIDT DURING HIS MOSCOW VISIT ON THIS SCORE WAS STILL IN FORCE.

7. RESPONDING TO THIS PRESENTATION, GENSCHER SAID THAT HE HAD ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT THE GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR A POLICY OF DETENTE WERE STILL VALID, BUT THAT AFTER HIS LAST PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT HE HAD ASKED HIMSELF WHETHER, IN VIEW OF THE RECENT SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE FRG, IT WAS STILL CORRECT. HE ADDED, PARENTHETICALLY, THAT THE GOVERNING COALITION HAD WIDE SUPPORT AMONG THE POPULATION IN GERMANY, AS HAD BEEN CONFIRMED IN THE LAST ELECTIONS.

8. RETURNING TO THE BERLIN QUESTION, GENSCHER AGREED ON THE NECESSITY OF STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL APPLICATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND SAID IT WAS UNDESIRABLE TO CONTINUE A PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON RESPECT-

ING OR NOT RESPECTING THE QA. BUT IN THIS PRIVATE
CONVERSATION, HE SAID, HE WOULD LIKE TO ASK WHAT
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PROVISION OF THE QA HAD, IN SOVIET OPINION, BEEN
VIOLATED BY HIS ACCOMPANYING SECRETARY KISSINGER TO
BERLIN. THERE WERE, HE SAID, NO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION
IN GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION OR WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT
CONCERNING HIS JOURNEY TO BERLIN. THE FRG HAD EXAMINED
THE QUESTION VERY CAREFULLY BEFOREHAND AND WAS CONVINCED
THAT THE TRIP WAS IN EVERY RESPECT CORRECT UNDER THE QA.

9. PICKING UP ZAMYATIN'S POINT ON FRG ATTEMPTS TO
INTERPRET THE QA, GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FRG MUST HAVE
THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE QA AND THAT IT WAS ABSO-
LUTELY ABSURD TO SAY THAT THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER
IS FORBIDDEN TO SAY ANYTHING ON THE SUBJECT. HE ADDED
THAT THE GDR COULD ALSO HAVE AN OPINION ABOUT THE QA
AND EXPRESS IT.

10. ZAMYATIN AVOIDED A DIRECT REPLY, SAYING THAT FOR
ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS THE PROPER PERSON TO RESPOND WAS
AMBASSADOR FALIN. FALIN THEN ELABORATED THAT THE
GENSCHER JOURNEY TO BERLIN HAD TO BE MEASURED AGAINST
THE STANDARDS OF THE QA. THIS MEANT THAT THE SPECIAL
CHARACTER OF WEST BERLIN SHOULD NOT BE VIOLATED. IN
THE OPINION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, THE TRIP WAS NOT
IN CONFORMITY WITH WHAT HAD BEEN DECIDED IN THE QA. IN
THE PERIOD SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE QA, IT HAD BEEN

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MUCH QUIETER AROUND BERLIN, AND THE SOVIET UNION PROCEEDED FROM THE POSITION THAT IT SHOULD REMAIN THAT WAY. FALIN OBSERVED THAT VAN WELL HAD TELEPHONED HIM BEFORE THE KISSINGER VISIT AND INFORMED HIM THAT GENSCHER WOULD BE ACCOMPANYING THE SECRETARY OUT OF COURTESY (SEE BONN 8041); TO THIS HE COULD ONLY SAY THAT THIS WAS A MOST FASTIDIOUS COURTESY. GENSCHER INTERJECTED THAT TASS HAD ALSO REACTED IN A MOST FASTIDIOUS WAY. WHEN GENSCHER REPEATED HIS QUESTION AS TO HOW THE VISIT CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF THE QA, FALIN RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS AN OFFICIAL VIOLATION OF THE QA BECAUSE IN GOING GENSCHER HAD UNDERTAKEN AN ACTION WHICH CONCERNED THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF BERLIN.

11. LUECKING TOLD THE BONN GROUP REPS THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY ANSWER GENSCHER WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN. AT THAT POINT ZAMYATIN SHOWED THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER, SAYING THAT HE WAS NOT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONSIBLE PERSON AND SUGGESTING THAT THE CONVERSATION MOVE ON TO OTHER SUBJECTS. THE REMAINDER OF THE LUNCHEON DISCUSSION CONCERNED A GENERAL REVIEW OF ISSUES SUCH AS CSCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST. CASH

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